Throughout the region such a "kank"[1] is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engí'nǎ-mbǫ́m).

As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engí'nǎ-mbǫ́n.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osǎ, -mbǫ́n, ngǒ-mbǫ́n IV).

A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dzǎ(s) -mbǫ́n).

These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engǔ'na-mbǫ́n. They are used in the same situations.

[1: i.e. cassava roll - Analyst]

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Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

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415 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfo̱k). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

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484 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask, or from calabashes (ndo̱k IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

271 415 484 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

271 137 824 In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this, to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like -- one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angũngũ̃ĩ-ndźĩk III Ntum, ngũ̃ĩ-ndźĩk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 273 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayõ̃[k] me nkõ̃'k)." The latter method of

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a bíáⁿ, which is contained in the
521 name abíⁿ, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
767 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult-festivi-
779 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
521 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824] Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the
789 harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
121 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsĕdĕkíⁿ, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
124 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zĕlánⁿ, from á sĕlán, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

It should be emphasized that the Pangwe no longer regard
789 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstition";
178 they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

include representatives of all the clans. Who then could exercise authority over such a motley population, if they were to follow purely traditional rules? Various methods are used for selecting chiefs. In one place people adhere to investing the legitimate heir of the lineage of the village founder. Elsewhere, a representative of the largest ayoñ is sought. Quite often, particularly in the Cameroons, the choice of chief by /130/ election is believed to allow the population to express their views, whatever the motives of selection may be. Will the village regrouping movement permit the establishment of a new, better-adapted system? A blaze of enthusiasm has gripped the Fang people, convinced that the new system will make it possible to solve all problems as by a magical formula, without sacrificing either traditional forms or individual anarchy.

In the Cameroons a few years ago the movement to regroup the meyoñ appeared just as likely to bring an end to all difficulties. More bound up with traditional institutions, the meyoñ organization movement set out simply to give some order to the intellectual and moral /behavioral?—Tr./ life of groups by codifying customs, taking note of traditions, and creating a collective awareness, a common clan sentiment, through periodic meetings, dances, and songs. In contrast to the movement in Gabon, the bisulan movement hardly touches upon the concrete, the economic field.

It is worth emphasizing that this movement did not question the administrative division into regions and subdivisions. The bisulan do not in fact seem to have voiced any criticism of this distinction, and the population of Dja-and-Lobo even expressed a lively wish to see Sangmélima raised to regional status and separated administratively from the N'Tem region.

In fact, though local organization at the lowest levels may not have found its bearings, at a higher level it seems to have become thoroughly incorporated in the country. When they reached Pahouin country, the European powers—France, Germany, Spain—set up a network of resident posts for the representatives of authority. In this country without crystallizing centers, the main town of a subdivision has become a town with a town's multiple functions, administrative, judicial, cultural (missions and schools), economic (road station, trade). A study of the journeys made by the rural population of the southern Cameroons shows clearly that these towns are no longer artificial centers but genuine points of attraction. The capital of

their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.3%), to visit relatives (10.3%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *ekí* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *bekí*. 325 326

Bekí is made up in bunches ten *bekí* in each bunch; a bunch of *bekí* is called *ekot*. The amount of dowry paid in *bekí* is usually counted in hundreds, *kukúlí bekí, nnú ewom* (bring me one hundred *bekí*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ekot*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ewo*).

The *nyúk* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*akum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *ndung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

8: Bennett, D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood
484 burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the
path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the
next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still
burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan
to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony *of going out of mourning*. I witnessed this
372 ceremony once at Foulabiding. The widows of an old headman had put in the
765 regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows
in all, three of middle age, and four young girls. A small fire of leaves had been
lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young
men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a
given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the
young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely.
Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding
a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads
with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the
[765] following information: Passing the fire *clears* them after mourning (evidently
considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty
to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly,
the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it
signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *fats*
372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches,
821 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives
say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he
is angry." The native word for sun is *fo*. Although the palaver house fire is kept
burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any
person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of
crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to
native custom.

Example: A Fang of the Esisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of
628 the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for
691 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the
street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman
demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Esisis" (giving
the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The
third party then goes to the Esisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name)
"has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has
put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *odde*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed ground seeds, sprouts, corn; *mekuke*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various molluscs. *Fish* is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Bêri* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Bêri* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*ekie*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *odou* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing